The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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TECHNIQUE OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

WHAT is the state? That is a big question, which Christian forces throughout the world are of necessity looking upon as the most difficult, the most fateful, but perhaps also the most promising of contemporary problems. We see it clearly in the background of all the great Encyclicals since *Quadragesimo Anno*. It hung like a shadow over the conference of Protestants at Oxford. Into millions of households throughout the world it has been flung like a sharp knife with which the loaf of life must be cut. The philosopher and the teacher struggle with it during waking and sleeping hours. Religious writing in our time is hardly concerned at all with the science or naturalism which were so important thirty years ago, and builds up slowly a vast literature on aspects of the great debate about government which now seems mankind's major concern.

It is significant that even the Catholic catechism has been expanded to meet the emergency. In Germany the hierarchy issued an official addendum which puts such questions as these: "Who alone has the highest right over our bodies and our health?" "In what respect are all men equal?" "What is the greatest glory of the Jewish people?" One needs no learning to understand what these queries mean. Behind them lies the whole massive strength of the truth which God was pleased to give the world. But what is really difficult to understand is that the times should demand that little children should be concerned with such things—with a conflict between government and the Christian conscience more subtle but not less bitter and brutal than that which harassed the last centuries of the Caesars. Even this little addition to the catechism has meant strife. The German state forbade its use in the schools, and the Bishops thereupon ordered that it should be given to each child at Easter time.

One could illustrate this universal trend in

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countless other ways. Perhaps one incident may suffice. In Paris during the current Exposition, there is a Passion Play in front of Notre Dame. That is in itself significant. But the real marvel is that among the participants there should be a section of the Garde Républicaine! To everyone who knows that for generations this organization has been looked upon as the bulwark of the Third Republic against "clericalism" and "reaction," this event can hardly be less astonishing than would be the news that Niagara was pouring milk and honey into Lake Ontario. Does it mean that an old, old conflict is being settled? No, nothing is now being "settled" in France. But there is in progress what one hopes is a realignment of social and political forces, taking place under circumstances in which danger is being compounded with a constructive change.

It is easy to pick out such details and study their significance. But when one seeks to reach the bottom of the difficulty one is faced with problems that have hardly been defined, let alone solved. Mere political science helps very little. We know that revolution is disturbing nearly all the countries which participated in the last war, and are therefore tempted to conclude that this war is the fountain-source of all our woes. But Spain and Mexico were not involved in that war, while England was. Some of us reason that government requires a firm hand. But there is stability and peace in easy-going little Luxembourg, and there is a constant state of alarm in Russia and Germany. Thus is the fate of most of our theories.

Above all, the theory that disturbance is being propagated by small groups of professional agitators financed by Moscow or somebody else will not hold water. In Holland there existed for a long time an extraordinarily well financed coterie of radicals. But Holland is a laboratory experiment in how to confound and defeat revolutionists. It is the only country of Europe where Marxism has made no inroads into traditionally Catholic industrial provinces. Of course the Dutch did great things. They built up splendid organizations of workers which fought actively for a square deal. They managed to get labor and industry into one and the same room for conference and debate. They proved that the Christian Gospel is fully the match of any other philosophy, and that when that Gospel is really preached Moscow wastes its time.

From all this we may conclude: the debate about government, in which all of us are engaged, does not grow out of one single situation or difficulty. It is the outcome of the religious, the social, the philosophical, the moral history through which the Western World has lived. Hitler would not be possible had there been no Darwinism; Darwinism would never have been conceived outside the womb of British secularist thought; this secularist thought was a major consequence of the Tudor religious revolt; and that revolt in turn was the result of other things. We have now reached a certain point of culmination. The ideas by which men have lived now rise to make men wonder if they are to live at all. And as a consequence the hatred which many entertain for Christianity is the essence of all the hatreds which Christendom has engendered in the past.

We cannot look for a way out in attempts to make Christianity an indifferent matter—to take it away from the world, into "the sacristy," so that others will forget it is there and leave it alone. For Christianity was never meant to be away from the world, and removing it means destroying it. Nor can we succeed by adding to the world's store of hatreds, i. e., by ourselves hating other groups and making war upon them when we are strong. Our triumph must be attained by rendering it impossible that men should not love Christianity. Of course there is no proof that human nature is really capable of such affection. Granted. But are we who do love it so much better than or different from others that we can suppose them fundamentally incapable of what we ourselves feel?

There are three great desires by which society lives—for life, for truth, and for justice. We all know that Christianity is the supreme affirmation of all these. All life is sacred, all truth is orthodox, all injustice is a harbinger of vengeance. We cannot help it if in times past some who bore the name of Christian sinned against all three. Even if we repudiated them more resolutely than we usually do, nothing much would be accomplished. But it is our fault and no one else's if we do not emphasize them now. Life cannot mean imprisonment in tyrannical jails, no matter who the jailer may be. Truth cannot mean compromise with nonsense, regardless of who talks nonsense. Justice is not an ally of the suppression of rights—even if those suppressed be international Jews or Marxists.

The champion of these desires is, one may add, no pacifist. But he lives by a code of warfare older than all the rules of chivalry or diplomacy. His actions are regulated by the principle that the dignity of man is the boundary line of authority. The 'devil cannot be fought with his own fire" because there is no room in the Christian universe for the devil. Because these things are being widely realized again, in print and in practise, we have said at the outset that our present quandaries contain something of promise, too, as well as of menace. We are getting rid of non-essentials and of intellectual confusion. We are driving the enemy out of our own ranks. And we cannot do so too soon or too completely. For the technique of counter-revolution avails only those who have gone through a revolution within themselves.

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Week by Week

ACCORDING to a recent tabulation, nine hundred and thirty-seven bills were enacted by the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress—a not ignoble accomplishment. President Roosevelt vetoed fifteen bills and exercised his privilege of the "pocket veto" on twenty-three other measures. He signed the sugar bill, although admitting that it legalized a virtual monopoly by a small group of seaboard refiners. It is generally admitted that Mr. Roosevelt has suffered a decline in prestige. Should the Sino-Japanese crisis permit a trip to the Pacific coast, he will undoubtedly seek to rekindle the flaming enthusiasm for the New Deal which marked the balloting last November. The Chinese successfully resisted a major Japanese offensive along the fronts north of Shanghai, indicating that the Japanese Diet may again be called upon to vote an additional two billion yen provided in the supplementary budget to meet the cost of the warfare in China. The British government considered the Japanese reply to its protest against the air attack on Sir Hugh Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen most unsatisfactory. Britain will formulate another note while the Japanese prosecute a leisurely investigation of the attack. Another series of notes will probably pass between the Italian and Soviet governments regarding the torpedoing of two Russian freighters in the Mediterranean.

The Trend of Events

THE BI-CENTENNIAL of the birth of Charles Carroll of Carrollton will be celebrated September 19 with appropriate ceremonies at Doughoregan Manor, Howard County, Maryland, where the illustrious champion of civil and religious liberty lies buried. He was the first American patriot to express himself in favor of independence, the first to have absolute confidence in the ultimate freedom of the colonies. A signer of the Declaration of Independence, he distinguished himself throughout the Revolutionary War by his zeal, fortitude and perseverence. In fighting for the ratification of the Constitution he insisted that the people should be the real source of power in the new government. With Bishop John Carroll and Daniel Carroll he achieved recognition of the principle of religious liberty in our land. Thus the spirit of Maryland, Land of Sanctuary, became the spirit of the new America. Carroll once described himself as "one deeply interested in the prosperity of his country, a friend to liberty and a settled enemy to lawless prerogative." Shortly before his death he remarked: "I have lived to my ninety-sixth year. I have been blessed with great wealth, prosperity and most of the good things which a world can bestow—public approbation, esteem, applause. But what I now look back on with greatest satisfaction to myself is that I have practiced the duties of my religion." The philosophy of Charles Carroll, if put into practice by all our people, will be the greatest bulwark against the contemporary menace to civil and religious liberty which is one of the paramount issues of our time.

Carroll of Carrollton

IN A LETTER to the New York *Times*, James T. Shotwell, commenting on the pastoral letter of the Spanish hierarchy, which received vary tardy recognition in the American press, asserts that "the prelates have neither proved a case against their enemy nor justified their own." Professor Shotwell arrives at this surprising conclusion, we believe, by ignoring altogether certain sections of the letter. He states that "the document does not charge the government with having taken any overt acts against the church." The prelates, on the contrary, specifically declare that they formulate their verdict on the war in Spain because "it appeared so clear from its beginnings that one of the belligerent parties was aiming directly at the abolition of the Catholic religion in Spain." They also insist upon the fact that the Church "has been the chief victim of the fury of one of the litigant parties." Professor Shotwell asserts that the resort to war by the military leaders of Spain, which the clergy now seeks to justify, "was an act of aggression against the constituted authority, because the pacific means for settling this domestic dispute were still available." The prelates assert that in the elections in February, 1936, with more than half a million votes majority over the Left, "the Right had 118 fewer Deputies than the Popular Front because the votes of whole provinces had been canceled at will, thus corrupting in its origin the legitimacy of the parliament." The Spanish episcopate labored unceasingly for peace. It lamented the outbreak of the war. The brutal assassination of Calvo Sotelo and others demonstrated the attitude of the government toward settling the dispute by pacific means. Professor Shotwell believes that the effort of the prelates to invoke the doctrine of Saint Thomas Aquinas concerning the right to defensive resistance by force "is to give the scholastic philosophy a reactionary meaning by no means consonant with the subsequent development of the Church." If Professor Shotwell still believes that resistance by force against an unjust aggressor is reactionary, or that the Church, in teaching this doctrine for two thousand years, is reactionary, then we can only conclude that his knowledge of the Church is as deficient as his ability to quote correctly from the

The Spanish Issue

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pastoral letter or his logic in arguing from correct first principles.

NOTABLE truths of the parent-child relationship were stressed with characteristic force and picturesqueness by a veteran in the field of Catholic parent education at the convention of the National Catholic Women's Union recently held in Hartford. Miss Ella Frances Lynch, founder of the National League of Teacher-Mothers, spoke on the subject to which for many years she has given a dedicated devotion. Her remarks, full as always of both spirit and substance, might be pondered with profit by an even larger audience than the one which heard her so enthusiastically on this occasion. This need not imply a blanket endorsement of the full position of this fine educator. The field of education proliferates differences. For example, one might concede the nursery school and kindergarten a more positive place than she does. But she has been a leader among Catholics in recognizing that the development of child training outside the home may represent a corresponding shrinking of the functions and the adequacy of the home. She has been a leader in placing the blame for this imperiled balance upon those parents who too readily relinquish their duties, or who fail to prepare themselves to discharge them properly. Chief of all, perhaps, has been her comprehension that the authority of the home, properly realized and developed, is a *natural* authority, and hence full of rich possibilities of growth and happiness for all members of the home—possibilities which simply do not exist in even the most well-meaning outside agency. Whatever modification of her tenets or her technique may ensue as the important movement of Catholic parent-education gets under way, that movement must always acknowledge her as one of its most effective pioneers.

Tribute to a Pioneer

THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, in their convention, confounded the prophets who predicted a serious split in their powerful organization. Urged by messengers from the central headquarters of the C.I.O., the various factions adopted a generally harmonious attitude and the contest between the "progressives" and the "unity group" was kept fairly innocuous. There are at present no strong radical sections in the labor movement, outside of the recently split Left wing of the Socialist party, which are willing to endanger the various popular front efforts in progress. Whatever victory there was within the U.A.W. apparently belongs to the incumbent Martin-Frankensteen group of fairly conservative, fairly centralizing unionists. The U.A.W. has gone a long way, but the realistic way in which they avoided dispute and appropriated $400,000 to fight Ford shows they know there is still a long way to go. It is almost inconceivable that Ford can keep his plants from being unionized. "Fordism," which at one time meant to the public the acme of technological progress and rationalized production, has now come to mean a stiff-necked refusal to advance beyond the abortive social era of Liberal laissez-faire. In a way, Ford makes it too easy for the unions. Labor leaders don't have to go far in the development of economic and social philosophy to outdistance his negative Conservatism by just as much as his new V8s outdistance the old Model Ts. When a union is organizing against employer opposition it is quite naturally first of all a fighting organization. If employers want the unions ever to grow more constructive and more "responsible" they must cease trying to maintain a jungle of individualistic purposes, even if in that jungle they have personally found a satisfactory amount of game. A jungle isn't a fit habitation for men in the first place, and in the second, the game have been very uncomfortable there for many years. If the Ford Corporation would devote as much intelligence to human cooperation as it has to mechanical organization the country would be a whole lot better place to live in.

The Auto Workers' Union

TO SALUTE the success of this or that medical experiment which promises to give relief to human sufferers is one thing. To record that some scourge which has devastated mankind is completely conquered is another. Our recent note about the positive results of various infantile paralysis treatments indicated what genuine and encouraging progress was being made in a field where such progress has been especially prayed for. But we are reminded by the news of the last few weeks from Ontario and the central part of our own country that infantile paralysis is yet to be vanquished. The hot weather has brought in its train a minor but none the less very real epidemic of the disease. Present reports show that anxiety is now centering in Chicago and Toronto. Ontario has had almost a thousand cases of the disease since June, about 350 of them in its capital city. Chicago's total is proportionately less than this, but fourteen additional cases in a single day are not negligible, medically speaking. The authorities are fully alive to the danger. Pending the coming of cold weather, the only certain check to the disease, they are making use of serum donated by former sufferers from the poliomyelitis germ. Those who have it in their power to do so must feel the obligation to help by their activities. Those in sections untouched, or unthreatened, must feel the duty to pray that the scourge may pass.

Fear in the Wake of Summer

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CLASS PREJUDICE

By OLIVER McKEE, JR.

THOUGH not unfamiliar to Americans, the phrase "class war" has an alien connotation. It suggests the Marxian ideology of the Old World, or the duel between plebeians and aristocrats, rather than the realities of American politics as we have known them in the past. Our two major political parties have been organized on vertical, not horizontal, social lines. Wealth, both corporate and individual, may have been more heavily represented in the Republican than the Democratic party, but both have included in their memberships coupon clippers and wage earners, capitalists and farm hands, the "haves" and "have nots." Each has been a fairly representative cross section of American society.

In the light of the political realignments which now seem to be under way, our former concepts may need revision. Granted that Mr. Roosevelt has not designedly sought to create the spirit of class consciousness, granted the sincerity of many of the reforms which he is seeking in the social order, the bright promises which he has held out to the multitude, his political strategy and many of his policies have nevertheless tended to incite class prejudice, and create in the public mind the impression that property is necessarily the foe of human rights.

In building the foundations of popular support for the New Deal, and in pushing forward his legislative program at the session of Congress which ended in late August, Mr. Roosevelt has stressed both the welfare of the "average" man and the fact that one-third of the population of the United States is ill nourished, ill clothed, and ill housed. At the same time, he has delighted in holding up wealthy tax dodgers and the "economic royalists" as his whipping boys. Under the present administration, appeals to class consciousness have been employed both to win popular support for legislation, and to discredit, in the minds of the larger voting groups, the purposes and the motives of the opposition. Note, for example, his charge that those opposed to his Supreme Court enlargement plan represented the same elements who sought to encompass his defeat in the 1936 presidential election.

Following the virtual collapse of the American economic system in 1933, with its revelation of incompetence and mismanagement, if not a betrayal of trust in high places, big business, bankers and the captains of industry were the natural target for a disillusioned public. Hard times not only exposed heads of the Old Order to a castigation as severe as that which beats about the head of a football coach after his team has had a disastrous season on the gridiron, but they set the people thinking along new lines. By inheritance and tradition, Mr. Roosevelt belongs to that group of Americans upon whom the sun of capitalism beamed most genially. But Mr. Roosevelt is also a master politician, skilled in sensing the direction and appraising the force of the prevailing political winds. He undoubtedly perceived, when he took command in Washington at the low point of the depression, that the temper of the country was such that it would both applaud and support reforms aimed to eliminate the most glaring abuses laid bare by the depression. Though the cynical will tell us that this was precisely the course best calculated to carry Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal candidates to victory in the 1936 elections, I cannot easily believe that Mr. Roosevelt, in any deliberate fashion, has sought to incite class feeling as a means of keeping himself and his party in power. That a division along class lines has been created in contemporary politics seems rather the result of the Roosevelt technique than one of the principal aims of his policies. The expansion of the federal bureaucracy, the steady aggrandizement of the power of the central government, the cash and other bounties, the Utopian promises of the social program—these have set in motion forces over which Mr. Roosevelt can now exercise but a limited, if any effective control.

Courting as he has so assiduously the good will of that rather elusive individual, the average man, Mr. Roosevelt appeals to one of the strongest of human emotions: acquisitiveness. The mass appeal of Utopia in these supposedly enlightened times seems to be as great as it was when education was the privilege of the few. The pledges made in behalf of the New Deal cover nearly every human want. The colors of the America of tomorrow are brightly drawn, a land of milk and honey. A job for everyone, security in home and employment, protection against old age and the vicissitudes of fortune, easy working hours, and ready access to the Treasury of a paternal government—these, to mix a metaphor, are the high peaks of Mr. Roosevelt's promised land. In the blueprints of his Utopia, Mr. Roosevelt addresses his appeal primarily to those who have little knowledge of practical economics. Among them believers in a governmental Santa Claus are legion, men and women who now look to Washington as a universal provider, endowed with inexhaustible resources.

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So well have the beneficiaries of the Washington policies been organized that a continuation of the federal bounties may be theirs for the asking. Behind the reformers, the prophets and the ballyhoo men of the New Deal lies a political machine whose power was revealed in the slaughter of Old Guard Republicans in November. Staffed in the emergency agencies in large part by the spoilsmen, the federal establishment has added about 100,000 persons to its pay roll, which has now reached the largest peace-time total in its history. Federal cash has attached to this bureaucracy many millions of voters by ties almost as strong as those which bind the spoilsmen to the bandwagon. After the Civil War, veterans of the Blue joined in the refrain, "Uncle Sam is rich enough to buy a farm for all of us." Others beside the ex-soldiers are humming this today. For many large voting groups have a powerful interest in maintaining the federal bureaucrats in power, as the source of past and the hope of future favors. Even the states, once regarded as sovereign entities, have fallen in line avidly for their share of the federal handouts.

Granted an inexhaustible reservoir of cash any government can offer its people bonanza living and luxurious care. But governments, even that in Washington, operate under limitations both of the budget and the national credit. Though Messrs. Roosevelt and Morgenthau, by a legerdemain that must command our admiration, have contrived to stave off the day of reckoning, that day is not far off, if the Treasury continues to run into the red to the tune of several billions a year.

If the New Deal is to push forward along the course already charted out for it, if the army of federal retainers continues to increase, property must therefore expect even heavier levies than are exacted from it today. Inasmuch as taxes even now are near the confiscation point, these levies may result in the actual destruction of wealth, by the impairment of the values of life insurance policies, capital investments and other equities, and the expropriation of profits that will tend to discourage private enterprise still further. Recent reports of the Bureau of Internal Revenue eloquently portray the shrinkage in "middle class" incomes in the United States since 1929.

Property has an interest, granted a selfish interest, in the maintainance of a reasonable level of value for its equities. But taking the larger view, the maintainance of that level is essential to carry the costs of government, which are bound to be high for many years even if economic recovery eases the burden of relief. A further drive against property, engineered by politicians anxious to capitalize the votes of the marginal elements favored so heavily in the distribution of federal largess, threatens to dry up the very source of the revenues which have been paying so large a part of the costs of recovery. The alliance between federal office holders, and an army of voters dependent for a continuation of their bounties on retention of that bureaucracy in power, is formidable enough. Not only is that alliance in the making, but to it has been added clever political leadership and the full use of high-powered publicity technique (note the hundred or more press agents on the New Deal's payroll). It was the Roosevelt campaign managers who projected William Graham Sumner's "Forgotten Man" into the vernacular of the day, but they have created a figure whom Billy Sumner would never recognize. For here he is as Sumner saw him: "The state cannot get a cent for any man without taking it from some other man, and this latter must be a man who has produced and saved it. This latter is the forgotten man—hence the real sufferer by that kind of benevolence which consists in an expenditure of capital to protect the good-for-nothing is the industrious laborer."

The validity of the major premise of the Roosevelt creed is hardly open to question; namely that an improvement in the economic status of the ten million unemployed and the many millions who are eking out a bare subsistence living is essential to a restoration of national purchasing power and therefore of national prosperity. Yet other administrations, in their own way, have sought a high standard of living for American workers. The "full dinner pail" was long a Republican campaign slogan. Our quarrel is rather with the injection of class consciousness in the drive to improve the economic status of the underprivileged. Bitterness is of the essence of class, as it is of civil warfare. In a country as widely divergent in its economic interests as ours is, sectional conflicts over economic issues must be regarded as inevitable. Sectional battles have been fought in Congress and in party conventions since the founding of the Republic. These have been decided, however, by superior voting power, and under rules which are akin in spirit to those of the sportsman's code. They leave behind them no such heritage of ill-will as a conflict in which property is the dividing line.

Let us give credit to Mr. Roosevelt for his gallant efforts to repair the shattered social fabric of America, badly damaged under the most withering depression of our day. Let us give him credit for pointing the way to many needed reforms, for the broad humanity of his outlook toward the less fortunate and his willingness to fight for recovery through trial and error experimentation. We can give him full credit for all this, and much more, and still deplore the encouragement of class prejudice which inheres in so much that he is doing, his under-emphasis on the rights of property owners and his failure to

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recognize that thrift, and the virtues that go with it, also have valid claim to consideration.

If we disengage from the equation the charm and persuasiveness of Mr. Roosevelt's own personality, his popularity and prestige—still strong in spite of his troubles in Congress and the rejection of his proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court—rest in the main on the lavish federal spending, his social program, and the hopes of millions that the New Deal, by a magic formula, overriding the laws of economics, will carry them into easy street.

The very success achieved by Mr. Roosevelt as a popular leader carries with it danger signals for the future. The easy flow of federal cash, the evident mass appeal of the Utopia projected on the New Deal cinema, have given ambitious politicians a powerful incentive to copy Mr. Roosevelt's technique. Many of them already are resorting to similar appeals to class consciousness. The "have nots" can always outvote the "haves" when political battles are fought out horizontally.

If present trends continue, American politics will enter a new period. Property will be the line of division, and American political parties, in their social make-up, will no longer be organized on vertical lines. This is a prospect which no American familiar with the results of political war along class lines in other countries, and other times, can view with unconcern.

INDIA IN THE NEW ERA

By K. E. JOB

THE INAUGURATION of a new constitution for India is an epoch-making event in the political, social and religious history of the vast sub-continent whose population makes up one-fifth of the human race. The people of India have been for the last seven years expecting important changes in the administration of their country. Though we cannot say that all their expectations have been fully realized, yet, in fairness to those who have been sincerely engaged in the almost impossible task of conciliating a host of conflicting interests, it must be admitted that the Act does constitute a notable advance in all the advantages India was enjoying previously. We have only to compare the provisions of the present Government of India Act with those of the Minto-Morley Scheme to discover that within less than a quarter of a century the government of India has been practically transferred from the Crown to the people. Whereas but two decades ago the masses of India had hardly any idea of democratic institutions, during the year 1937 as many as 35,000,000 persons there will have known the value of the vote and its power in influencing the administration of the country. And when we remember that this vast number includes no less than 6,000,000 women, the progress can very well be appreciated.

But we cannot, in this connection, ignore the fact that there are adverse critics of the new constitution, both among Indian Nationalists and their officious sympathizers in Europe and America who do not fully realize that there are in India political parties and communal interests other than those of the high-caste Hindus, represented by the Indian National Congress. A report by Mr. T. A. Bisson on "A New Constitution of India," prepared for the Foreign Policy Association of America, is a typical example of such one-sided foreign criticism, born of ignorance of local conditions. It says:

> Notwithstanding the broad support mobilized behind the campaigns of the All India National Congress, the Constitution framed in London increasingly departs from the program of full self-government demanded both by the Congress party and the moderate Indian elements. Under the circumstances, the reaction in India against the new Constitution has been almost uniformly unfavorable. In British India, both the National Liberal Federation—the Moderates—and the All-India National Congress, comprising the so-called extremists, have condemned it in unqualified terms.

That the above sweeping condemnation of the merits of the recent constitutional legislation is most unfair and one-sided can be seen from a close examination of the fears and apprehensions entertained by the Untouchables, Moslems and Christians on the proposed transfer of full self-government to India.

Communalism is the bane of Indian politics. Among the 210,000,000 Hindus, there are upwards of 2,000 grades or castes, each separated from the other by watertight compartments of mutually antagonistic traditions and prejudices. The saddest side of the whole thing is that nearly 70,000,000 of the so-called Hindus are denied the elementary rights of humanity by their so-called high-caste brethren, who are, however, never tired of demanding equality with their European fellow citizens. "The contempt and aversion with which the other castes, and particularly the Brahmins, regard these unfortunate people," says Abbé Dubois, a Catholic missionary of the nineteenth century, "are carried to such an extent that in many places their presence, and

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even their foot-prints are considered sufficient to defile the neighborhood." Speaking on behalf of these mute millions of Hindu India, Dr. Ambedkar, their accredited leader, made the following memorable utterance in the All-India Congress of Berrar, held a few years back.

> In a self-governing India which did not recognize the hard facts of Indian society, the strings of political power would be in the hands of the ambitious members of the upper strata of Indian society. . . . This is bound to be the result of our social determinism. In this determinism there is no place for merit or ability. The only thing that counts is kinship, which prompts an Indian to discriminate against persons who are not of his relationship. The effect of this determinism operating in the minds of the members of the major community is bound to put members of the smaller communities at a formidable disadvantage, and may indeed forever shut them out from political power. . . . As you are aware, the gradation of the castes in India, founded as it is in theology, forms an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt. The effect of this gradation is to create in the minds of the higher orders a repulsion for the members of the lower. The working of such a psychology is bound to be disastrous to the depressed classes. . . . With the aristocracy, the notion that a man born a Brahmin cannot be other than a Brahmin, and a man born to be a pariah cannot be other than a pariah, is no idle talk; it is a living and operative faith. To give unrestricted power in the hands of people of this sort is to arm the hangman with a knife.

Those who talk glibly about the so-called full self-government for "India's enlightened millions" are therefore blissfully ignorant of the fact that even among the Hindus of India there are millions who are frankly mistrustful of the high-caste leaders of the Indian National Congress.

Another important factor to be reckoned with in estimating the adverse criticisms of the recent Government of India Act is that the politically minded citizens of British India are the inhabitants of cities and towns, while the millions dwelling in the rural villages seldom give a thought beyond the horizon of their village. And now, in the whole of India, there are only thirty-three cities having a population of over 100,000, while the vast mass of people live scattered over 500,000 villages. It has been calculated that 226,000,000 out of 244,000,000 people of British India live a rural life, rather indifferent as to whether the country is governed by the White men or the Brown, the Hindus or Moslems. This fact too, when fully realised, cannot but minimise the force of adverse criticisms leveled against the recent constitutional legislation for India.

After the Hindus, the Moslems of India, numbering 80,000,000, are the power to be reckoned with in the settlement of wider issues in India's constitutional changes. The Indian Moslems are an interesting set of people who know the art of playing the game of politics to perfection. The first man who deliberately and clearly stood out for India's breach with the British Empire was not a Hindu but a Moslem, Mr. Hasarat Mohani, who for the first time conceived the idea of creating a United States of India independent of Great Britain. But now the Moslems are loyal supporters of a British Empire in India for they know very well that they are only a minority likely to be swamped by the Hindus in case full self-government were to be granted to India in accordance with the demands of the Indian National Congress.

Even now, basking as they do under the impartial flag of Britain, the Indian Moslems have to fight tooth and nail with their Hindu compatriots for the right to build mosques on their own lands. In regard to this demand of the Moslems, the editor of a Hindu organ of Calcutta, the *Modern Review,* recently made the following uncharitable remarks:

> These Mohammedans say that they should have the right to say their prayers in mosques, wherever they can erect one. But as soon as a mosque is erected they make the further claim of slaughtering cows there, whenever they like, and of prohibiting music in its neighborhood. Slaughter of cows wounds Jain, Sikh and Hindu feelings, and prohibition of music unduly restricts Hindu and other non-Mohammedan rights. . . . We would therefore request the Mohammedans not to do anything that may multiply the sources of sanguinary religious and communal conflicts. We would also ask the British government in India to place . . . restrictions on the building of Mosques in India.

When enlightened Hindu India can put forth no nobler idea than the above, it is no wonder that the 80,000,000 Moslems of India can only express satisfaction with a constitution which does not satisfy the full demands of their high-caste Hindu brethren who form the most vocal element in the Indian National Congress.

But India is not exclusively Hindu and Moslem. There is also a genuine portion of Christendom in India, numbering 6,000,000. Barring the Syrian Christians of Malabar, the whole Christian community in India is the creation of missionaries from Europe and America. Though a universal religion, Christianity has come to India through the West. In art, music, ritual, equalitarian ordering of society, the conception of citizenship, and Church and State, Christians of India know only one interpretation and body of thought, namely, that which came from the West. Hence they, as a body, are equally afraid of the Hindu preponderance as of Moslem political sway, either of which is likely to stand in the way of their connection with the cultural traditions of

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the West. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the leader of Hindu reaction in British India, has unequivocally expressed his opposition to missionaries and religious conversion, even though he was assured that prosylitizing is a part of a Christian's duty. He will not tolerate hospitals and schools run by Christians because there is the danger of conversion of patients and pupils to Christianity. Meanwhile, younger firebrands like Pundit Jawharlal Nehru are fanning up communistic discontent in India with a view to rooting out all religions and morality from the ranks of the people.

Faced as they were with legions of similar representations from the various communal and political interests, within and without the country, Great Britain, true to her traditions of impartiality and justice, has at long last bestowed upon her greatest dependency a constitution, which, while not fully satisfying any one community or interest, insures that the least injury will be done by the majority to the minority.

The one thing to be gratefully remembered by Christendom is that Great Britain, despite her rigid religious neutrality, is truly representative of the ideal of Christianity and Western civilization in the pagan East. It is true she has not gone the length of the Portuguese in India or Spaniards in South America. Though the Portuguese power lasted in India only for a short time, yet it has left at least one little enclave where there is a perfectly Christian atmosphere, namely Goa, where there is no trace of paganism left. Goa may be a small place but it gives you an indication of what the whole of the land can be. Similarly, though the symbol of Spanish imperial power has gone, yet the whole of South America, the Philippines and Cuba perpetuate the memory of a spiritual gift that will never be forgotten. Even so will Great Britain leave behind her an undying reputation for impartiality, justice and Christian culture in India if she remains true to her great Christian ideas and succeeds in liberating the hundreds of millions of caste-bound unfortunates and helps to bring them to the light of that culture which she so proudly represents in the Far East.

The remedy to the social and spiritual evils of modern India is the same as was applied to Greece and Rome at the dawn of Christianity. It is the spirit of Jesus that is wanted in India, as it breathed in the parable of the Good Samaritan, the Conversion of Zacchaeus, in the healing of the lepers, the demoniacs and the unclean. And if Great Britain shall at last be indirectly instrumental in applying this remedy, through her constitutional, political and social legislations in India, her name will ever be kept fresh in the annals of this terrestrial world.

HELEN WADDELL

By MARIE SHIELDS HALVEY

SOME one was talking learnedly about the influence of Latin poetry on writers of English verse, and presently it appeared that by Latin poetry he meant the great church hymns of the thirteenth century. Memory sped back to high school days—to historic struggles with Vergil and Ovid; and saluted Franklin P. Adams who offers proof, "In Other Words," that at least one writer of verse in English has been influenced by the poetry of Q. Horatius Flaccus.

But what had happened in between, in the centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire and before the day of Saint Thomas Aquinas? Poets there have been in all countries and in all ages. In Europe between the third century and the thirteenth, some if not all of them must have written in Latin because, save for Greek, there was no other written language. Was the precious fruit of their labor lost forever to the student who had small Latin and less Greek?

By such blind and uninstructed stumblings was one booklover led to the public library and to a neglected book: "Medieval Latin Lyrics," by Helen Waddell. This work of a modern Irish scholar who has delved deeply into the history and learning of the Middle Ages is a feast of rare enjoyment for any lover of poetry. On its left-hand pages the lyrics are given in the original Latin text; on the right, they are translated into English verse of breath-taking beauty. At the end of the book there are biographical notes on the old poets that are, as one critic says of similar notes in another book by the same author, "marvels of compression."

Not the least interesting fact about this neglected book is its authorship. Helen Waddell, a twentieth century woman writer who cares nothing for personal publicity, sounds like a miracle in a day when abominations like the literary tea flourish; when you can find, in the book corner of any department store, a smartly clad authoress in the act of autographing her book for all and sundry who have the price of a copy; when the book review column of any up and coming newspaper will tell who is writing books and why; the kind of houses they live in and whether or not their neighbors keep chickens!

By contrast, Helen Waddell's publishers admit

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that they know little about her. Their request for biographical notes elicited a closely typed sheet: forty lines about the exploits of her father and grandfather; twelve about her schooling and the books she has published; and nothing about herself! Other curious facts about her add interest: Although she is not a Catholic, her latest book, "The Desert Fathers," was the choice of the Spiritual Book Associates for October. The reviews of it do not mention her as a poet, yet who save a poet could have translated anything out of any language to read like this, from Rabanus Maurus, who lived and wrote in the ninth century:

No work of man's hands but the weary years
Besiege and take it; comes its evil day;
The written word alone flouts destiny,
Revives the past and gives the lie to death.
God's Finger made its furrows in the rock
In letters when He gave His folk the law;
And things that are, and have been and may be—
Their secret with the written word abides.

All that painstaking inquiry could uncover about Helen Waddell is that she is of Irish family and was born in Tokio, where her parents were active in missionary work for the Presbyterian Church. Her father, "a happy scholar," was engaged on his monumental work: "The Interpretation of the Trinity to the Chinese Mind" (!!!), when he died in 1900, shortly after he had brought his family home to go to school in Ireland. Miss Waddell took her M. A. degree in Queen's University of Belfast; was Cassel lecturer in St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford, in 1921; held the Susette Taylor Fellowship from Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, for two years; and went to Paris in 1923 to begin work on her novel, "Peter Abelard," which was published in 1933.

"Peter Abelard," which is to date Helen Waddell's one venture into the field of fiction, is a novel of absorbing interest written in modern style. Although it takes some liberties with the facts of history as we know them concerning the immortal love story of Abelard and Heloise, it contains many authentic references to clerics and scholars of that day and the preceding centuries. It recites fragments of songs whose complete text is given in "Medieval Latin Lyrics." Gilles de Vannes, one of its characters, a whimsical old scholar who is first friend to Heloise and Abelard, speaks of Prudentius who began to write poetry at sixty and entered the Kingdom of God. My neglected book dates Prudentius at A. D. 348-405. "His life was spent in the law courts and he rose to high judicial office, but at 57 he turned from those things to find the Kingdom of God. His phrases are the naked poetry of religion, and he proved that learning could be 'Christ's ambassador,' and 'Beauty, Paradise's flower.'" Here is the way that, in Helen Waddell's translation, he wrote about "The Burial of the Dead."

Take him, Earth, for cherishing,
To thy tender breast receive him.
Body of a man I bring thee,
Noble even in its ruin.

Comes the hour God hath appointed
To fulfil the hope of men;
Then must thou, in very fashion,
What I give, return again.

Not though ancient time decaying
Wear away these bones to sand,
Ashes that a man might measure
In the hollow of his hand.

Not though wandering winds and idle
Drifting through the empty sky,
Scatter dust was nerve and sinew,
Is it given man to die.

Take, O take him, Mighty Leader,
Take again thy servant's soul,
To the house from which he wandered,
Exiled, erring, long ago.

But for us, heap earth about him,
Earth with leaves and violets strewn;
Grave his name and pour the fragrant
Balm upon the icy stone.

Mentioned also is the Blessed Alcuin, a Yorkshireman who died in his seventieth year at Tours where he had been abbot. That would be the eighth century, for he died in 804. In his earlier years he had been librarian and master of schools at the Cathedral library of York, thought to be the library that the Venerable Bede used. Three years before his death Alcuin sent a little present of wine to his friend, the Archbishop of York, with a reminder not to let his reading rust "lest all my labor in collecting books be lost." The poem, "Written for a Lost Nightingale," is found among his writings. It has been suggested that Keats, who could read neither Latin nor Greek, must have had some access to translations of the classics. Echoes of "Written for a Lost Nightingale" to be found in Keats's famous Ode, would seem to strengthen that belief:

Whoever stole you from my bush of broom,
I think he envied me my happiness,
O little nightingale, for many a time
You lightened my sad heart from its distress,
And flooded my whole soul with melody.
And I would have the other birds all come
And sing along with me thy threnody.

So brown and dim that little body was,
But none could scorn thy singing. In that throat
That tiny throat, what depth of harmony,
And all night long ringing thy changing note.
What marvel if the cherubim in heaven

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Continually do praise Him, when to thee
O small and happy, such a grace was given!

The Blessed Alcuin was beloved by the students who gathered around him at the schools connected with the Abbey of Tours where the tomb of Saint Martin is a national shrine. When Alcuin died, one of his disciples, Fredigis by name, wrote a poem about the empty cell from which the good Abbot had gone to his reward.

O little house! O dear and sweet my dwelling,
O little house, forever fare thee well.
The trees stand round thee with their sighing branches,
A little flowering wood forever fair.
Small streams about thee, all their banks in flower,
And there the happy fisher spreads his nets.

And all thy cloisters smell of apple orchards,
And there are lilies white and small red roses;
And every bird sings in the early morning,
Praising the God Who made him in his singing.

And once the Master's kind voice sounded in thee,
Reading the books of old philosophy,
And at set times the holy hymn ascended,
From hearts and voices both alike at peace.

O little house, my song is broke with weeping,
And sorrow is upon me for your end.
Silent the poet's songs, stilled in a moment,
And thou art passed beneath a stranger's hand.

There is the story of Radbod, son of a noble Frankish house and Archbishop of Utrecht, who died in 917. "He had that rare austerity that dissembles itself in pleasantry; abstemious at table but so gay in his speech that no man observed it. A friend asked leave to taste the bishop's glass, to the latter's great confusion for he thought it next to a vice to parade a virtue. The friend watched his opportunity and took a mouthful by stealth, thereby giving occasion to the kindliness of God who changed the water into a wine of singular bouquet." Many modern poets have written of the swallow's migration. Who among them can match the music of Radbod's lyric song?

I take the winds flower-bringing,
I take the time of leaves,
And tarry in men's houses,
Building beneath the eaves,

My nest where all can see it;
And there I keep my young,
My brood so sweet and little,
Until their time is come.

Out in the empty spaces
They follow me away,
Swift are my wings and tireless,
All the long summer day.

But when in the dank marshes
I dip a flying wing,
Then through the fields comes flailing
The east wind harsh with rain.

Colder the sun, and winter
Bitter with snow at hand,
Out-driven or out-flying,
I leave my fatherland.

Beneath strange roofs I shelter.
O man, wilt thou not see?
I follow fate; why wilt thou
Lag after destiny?

And for one last quotation, there is the song of Abelard. The translator says that the passion which never escaped in his strange, remote letters to Heloise awakes and cries out in this:

DAVID'S LAMENT FOR JONATHAN

Low in thy grave with thee
Happy to lie,
Since there's no greater thing left Love to do;
And to live after thee
Is but to die,
For with but half a soul, what can Life do?
So share thy victory,
Or else thy grave,
Either to rescue thee, or with thee lie;
Ending that life for thee
That thou didst save,
So Death that sundereth might bring more nigh.

Peace, O my stricken lute!
Thy strings are sleeping.
Would that my heart could still
Its bitter weeping.

There are many others—like Venantius Fortunatus who made pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Martin, and left with the various priests and bishops who had given him shelter a little trail of verses in praise of wine, of the sauce on a fish, or a goose of which he had eaten too much. Another note describes the Manuscript of Benedictbeuren, a collection of lyrics written by various vagabond poets. It was found in a monastery library, not listed in the catalog but stowed away out of sight, perhaps to escape the censors, for its songs are full of music and gay adventure, but shockingly at variance with the atmosphere of a monastery!

Thus enchantingly does "Medieval Latin Lyrics" open a door into a world forgotten by most readers of English literature; a door closed by the Reformation and the development of the Protestant tradition in English letters on a world of wandering scholars and lyric-voiced poets who sang of love and life and death; of bird and flower, dawn and starlight, even as our minor poets sing today. In the history of the poets there seem to have been no "dark ages."

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—A report from Peiping dated September 3 indicated that all American Catholic missionaries in the Peiping zone were safe and on active duty at their various posts. Meager reports from other parts of China told of various missions that were in danger but reported no actual casualties. Very Reverend William O'Shea, Secretary General of the Maryknoll Fathers, declared, September 7, "It is the duty and the privilege of every missionary to remain at his work. We are in the same category as Red Cross workers in war time. We belong to the front lines where we can administer to the dying, give support to the panic-stricken and try to promote peace. If we are killed by bullets, that will be our greatest reward—dying on the job in the performance of the highest duty of man." * * * The School of Social Work of the Catholic University of America has been enlarged to become a School of Social Science with Monsignor Francis J. Haas, Rector of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, and well-known labor arbitrator, as Dean. * * * The trailer chapel designed for the missions of the Paulist Fathers, which was on exhibit in New York, September 8 and 9, was built after consultation with the Liturgical Arts Society as to exterior and interior color schemes, candlestick designs, altar cards and the arrangement of the Stations of the Cross. * * * The Catholic Union of the Unemployed, formed under the patronage of Archbishop Monahan of Regina, Canada, who sends a representative to all their meetings, has as its foremost aim to "improve the living conditions of its members in order to make it easier for them to lead a more holy life."

The Nation.—The resignation of Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady was accepted with "deep regret" by President Roosevelt. Mr. McGrady was the government's star mediator in industrial strife and his resignation was repeatedly rumored before now, when he goes to accept a post with the Radio Corporation of America. * * * The Greenbelt Consumers Services was incorporated in Maryland. This will be a cooperative company to run on a non-profit making basis the food, drug, barber and beauty shops and the theatres, restaurants, etc., of the new greenbelt town just being completed by the R.A. At first it will be owned by the Consumers Distribution Corporation, founded by Mr. E. A. Filene to sponsor the growth of cooperative department stores, but it is intended that the 800 families who will soon move to Greenbelt will gradually buy the organization. * * * Nine eastern states have formed an interstate committee to deal with the problem of trailer homes. It is feared that unless some uniformity is brought into the laws dealing with trailers, soon no one will be able to buy or operate them. * * * The Distilled Spirits Institute published a report showing that major crimes for the country decreased 112,000 cases in 1936. "Every year of the last three years of prohibition had a larger record of murder, manslaughter and robbery than the highest of any of the first three years of repeal." The record of the five remaining dry states was worse than that of any adjoining state. * * * The Harvard Medical School issued a cry of alarm over alcoholism. "Alcoholics account for one-twentieth of the total of all admissions to the hospital. Deaths from alcoholism are increasing out of proportion to the increase in alcoholic admissions. In the years following repeal the annual deaths from alcoholism at the hospital doubled." It is a disease and "a pressing and expensive situation which the community must face."

The Wide World.—Loyalist forces captured Belchite, twenty miles southeast of Saragossa, in an attempt to sever Nationalist communications between Saragossa and Teruel. General Franco launched a new attack to recapture Belchite. International brigades are reported quitting the Loyalist forces. * * * General Maurice Gamelin, chief of staff of the French army, will witness current British army maneuvers. Field Marshal Sir Cyril Deverell, chief of the British general staff, will observe the French maneuvers. * * * Chancellor Adolf Hitler told the National Socialist party congress meeting in Nuremberg that it would no longer be possible to disregard the "community of will" between Germany and Italy. He also asserted that the Reich's treaty with Japan "serves the same purpose of unity in repelling an attack on the civilized world that today may come in Spain, tomorrow in the East and the day afterward somewhere else." Berlin announced that Premier Mussolini will visit Germany in a few weeks. * * * Delegates of Great Britain's 4,000,000 organized workers met in Norwich for the sixty-ninth Trades Union Congress. Complete accord existed between craft and trade unions. Among the topics considered were rearmament, labor's part in preserving international peace, pensions and living standards. * * * Mexican consuls throughout the world began collection in advance of a tax of three percent on thirty-five percent of the invoice value of merchandise being shipped to that country. This tax will be in addition to the regular tariff and will give Mexico immediate funds to continue the social revolutionary program. The United States government warned the Mexican government that it will not tolerate any interruption to the 1928 Morrow-Calles agreement guaranteeing the rights of American oil companies operating in Mexico. * * * Russia executed ten more persons, including three cooks for serving spoiled pork. * * * A revolt broke out in Asuncion, Paraguay, to recall Colonel Rafael Franco as president. The movement is supported by Chaco war veterans, city police, university students, laborers and some army and navy units.

* * * *

The President Signs.—In the ten days following the recess of the 75th Congress Mr. Roosevelt took action on

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the bills that were rushed through the tag end of that lengthy session. He vetoed a number of them, mostly of a decidedly minor importance. The Wagner-Steagall $525,000,000 Housing Bill, which he signed, was the only major item on his general program of national rehabilitation before him. Of considerable interest was his action on the Jones-Costigan Sugar Bill, which he signed only on the assurance that "the unholy alliance between the cane and beet growers on one hand and the seaboard refining monopoly on the other has been terminated by the growers. . . . The monopoly costs the American housewife millions of dollars every year and I am just as concerned for her as I am for the farmers themselves." Mr. Roosevelt also signed a bill to permit a limited sale of helium abroad solely for commercial and medicinal purposes. Such shipments must have the approval of six government departments including the army and navy. He also approved an appropriation of $4,000,000 for a voluntary census of the unemployed and a Third Deficiency Bill of $87,000,000. Other appropriations to which he agreed were for rivers and harbors, army housing and flood control, chiefly on the Ohio River. The approved Tax Loophole Bill is expected to bring in $100,000,000 in added revenue. It has been agreed that farm legislation will be the first order of business when Congress meets again and the President affixed his signature to the agreement, which embodies in return the granting of cotton crop loans.

Education.—According to a recent statement by James E. Cummings, assistant director of the Department of Education, National Catholic Welfare Conference, the reopening of the 10,347 Catholic schools in the United States this month will mark the start of a new epoch in the lives of 2,100,000 elementary school pupils, 290,000 high school students, 100,000 college students, 3,600 normal school students and 16,900 seminarians. Later in the school year, 40,611 students will take summer courses at colleges and normal schools. The educational and spiritual growth of this impressive student army of 2,551,100 will be nurtured by a staff of more than 89,000 teachers. It is estimated that the Catholic school system saves the nation approximately $140,000,000 a year, exclusive of capital outlay and interest.

At the Paris Exposition.—The current issue of *La Vie Catholique* carries an interesting note on the liturgical exhibits to be found at the International Exposition at Paris. In the pontifical Catholic pavilion, where Mass has been celebrated four times every Sunday since June 13, is a Roman altar at which the celebrant faces the people—a simple altar-table without a tabernacle and free from ornaments of any kind except for the required number of candles. Then there is the artistic Church of the Valley of the Loire with its carved wood altar and bronze cylindrical tabernacle. A chapel in the pavilion of the national manufactures of Sèvres is said to be unusually artistic. Provinces like Brittany and Savoy have also included chapels remarkable enough to invoke comment. "Belgium has the honor of exhibiting, perfectly grouped, a complete collection of religious and liturgical work of art." Windows, mosaics, gold and silver work, iron grillwork—"everything has been selected with the greatest artistry." Switzerland is exhibiting "three chasubles of the most noble style"; Holland has a pavilion with a room devoted to Jewish, Catholic and Protestant religious exhibits in which "everything is serious, sober, solid and inspires respect." The Swedish group includes two chasubles whose "embroidery is a masterpiece that cannot be passed over in silence." Norway is displaying three chasubles of a very unusual cut. In the National Palace of the Arts, which will remain as a reminder of the exposition and which will house among other things the sculpture now gathered in the Luxembourg Gallery, are grouped the "masterpieces of French art," a number of which were created for the purpose of divine worship, going as far back in history as Saint Thierry of Reims in the ninth century.

Piracy.—Great Britain and France extended formal invitations to ten European powers to discuss "the intolerable situation created by attacks recently illegally carried out against shipping in the Mediterranean by submarines and airplanes without disclosure of their identity." The meeting was scheduled to convene on September 10 at Nyon, Switzerland. Acceptances were received on September 7 from Russia, Greece, Egypt, Rumania, Bulgaria and Turkey. The conference, according to Anglo-French ideas, will not deal with past happenings but will be expected to devote itself solely to making the Mediterranean safe for all ships engaged in legitimate trading. It is reported that if a twelve-power agreement cannot be reached, Britain is ready to take forcible measures against the "pirates" with the help of France and whatever other nations are willing to join her. The Soviet government accused Italian submarines of the sinking of two Russian vessels and demanded damages and punishment of the guilty parties. Count Galeazzo Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, rejected the accusations and the Russian demands singly and collectively. Informed sources discounted the possibility of war between Italy and Russia over the issue but inclined to the view that diplomatic relations might be terminated. France, an ally of Russia, deeply resented the failure of the latter country to consult her before exchanging diplomatic notes with Italy. The United States Navy Department warned all American merchant vessels on the Mediterranean of various sectors on that sea where merchantmen had recently been bombed or torpedoed.

Far Eastern Front.—For the second successive week the fighting in China seemed inconclusive. A large-scale battle raged at Shanghai without appreciable results. In the North 400,000 Chinese were said to be opposing the Japanese invaders and on September 8 it was reported that 100,000 crack troops of China's Communist Army had joined the Central Government's forces near Peiping. The cruelty of the conflict is indicated by the report that no prisoners are being taken by either side. Foreign observers held that with Chinese ports blockaded, Shang-

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hai in ruins and Peiping and Tientsin in Japanese hands the Nanking government would be unable to sustain the war for over six months, but it was reported that the Chinese had drawn up plans for a two-year campaign. The Parliament at Tokyo voted overwhelmingly the $580,000,000 Chinese War budget, but foreign observers still wondered how the Nipponese in their straitened conditions could finance their present extended operations for many months. Diplomatic representations continued to flow back and forth with little result. Most important of these was a joint American-British-French note requesting that both belligerents withdraw their troops and warships from the Shanghai International Settlement area. China replied by blaming Japan for the existence of hostilities there, while Japan refused to accede to the demand on the ground that removal of their troops and warships would imply abandoning their protection of Japanese life and property. Mr. Roosevelt announced, September 5, that all of the 7,800 Americans in China had been urged to flee and warned that they remained at their own risk. Hundreds of Americans have wired or cabled United States officials demanding the protection of troops and warships. No order has been given to remove American marines or naval vessels from Shanghai as yet.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities. — A resolution favoring union of all branches of the Hungarian Reformed Church was passed unanimously in Bridgeport, Conn., August 30. This action was made at the joint conference of the Hungarian Reformed Ministers of America and the National Hungarian Christian Endeavor Union. Church leaders will confer with officials of the Presbyterian Church, the Free Magyar Church, and the Dutch Reformed Church, all of which have Hungarian churches under their authority, to promote the plan. Attempts will be made during the next three months to effect this union and to form a Hungarian Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Churches. * * * Industrial organization of union labor was commended by the National Council of Methodist Youth, at its third annual convention in Evanston, Ill., September 6. This endorsement was made with the reservation that the National Council maintains its right to criticize the C.I.O. The Council's statement was, "In view of the importance of mass production industries, we favor the organization of workers into industrial unions, such as are being organized by the C.I.O. We reserve the right to criticize the C.I.O. and other industrial organizations for practises not in agreement with Christian standards of ethics. We realize that so-called plant unions are, in certain instances, stepping stones to the formation of independent industrial unions, and in those cases we do not condemn them."

Labor.—During the Labor Day week the air was filled with labor messages from labor and public officials. Referring to capital and labor, the President said: "Both sides have made mistakes. While we deplore these mistakes it is for all of us as true Americans to resolve on this day devoted to labor that we shall, by removing the cause, seek to prevent their repetition." At the same time that this statement was issued, John L. Lewis was saying over the radio: "Labor next year cannot avoid the necessity of a political assay of the work and deeds of its so-called friends and its political beneficiaries." William Green denounced this speech, saying, "He denounced in autocratic and dictatorial terms the greatest friend of labor who has ever sat in the White House. The enemies the President has made were made because of the devoted way in which he stood for labor." The president of the A. F. of L. continued to assail the C.I.O. because of Lewis's "consuming ambition," because of the communistic support it receives, because of its resort to sit-down strikes and, in general, because it has split the union movement. On Labor Day itself, John L. Lewis extended his remarks, although avoiding all political references: "Labor must be strong enough to take its place at the council tables of industry, for the welfare of the country as a whole. Greater productivity must be governed by shorter hours of work, and upon this depends our economic well-being." Secretary Perkins told that "some 2,000,000 more wage-earners have jobs in regular non-agricultural employment this Labor Day than a year ago. . . . I believe that we are started upon a policy of cooperation between employer and employee that will be the means in this country of achieving peace, with justice, in the industrial world." Chairman Madden of the N.L.R.B. asserted over the radio that some employers were "wasting their energies in thinking up schemes to evade" the Wagner Act, and that they may "succeed in fooling the board, but they will not often fool their employees, and their employees will not tolerate these evasions."

Cotton.—The Commodity Credit Corporation began the operation of the new cotton loan plan, establishing a loan price on average cotton of $.0775 a pound, with a top of $.09. The low level of these loans, which brought predictions that few would be issued because the ordinary market price was staying above the range where they would be useful to farmers, was strongly condemned by Southern Congressmen and many of those interested in the industry. An important meeting of growers, factors and brokers was held in Memphis, where the Southern Agricultural Commissioners' Association held its annual session. Most spectacular proposition put forward was for the establishment of twin prices for cotton; a world price for exports, and a domestic price brought up three to five cents above the world price by subsidies—not loans —to be paid out of revenues derived from tariff charges to growers who agree to a liberal crop control program. The cotton men adopted resolutions favoring limited crop control, sustaining home market prices but permitting supremacy for American cotton on the world market. "Congress should give serious consideration to the application of the funds derived from the collection of customs to the administrative operation of the national agricultural program, allocating such funds as between the various commodities proportionately as these commodities move to export markets. . . . This association believes that it is an unsound policy to raise funds required for adjustment payments to farmers against the disadvantages of the tariff by a processing tax."

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The Play

Virginia

THE SEASON of 1937-38 is now open, on the stage with pomp and circumstance, in the auditorium with a huge and apparently delighted audience. The offering is denominated "An American Musical Romance." Its title is "Virginia," its place of presentation the colossal Center Theatre of Mr. Rockefeller, and the director is John Kenneth Hyatt. As preliminary to a discussion of the "romance" itself it is well to give the names of those responsible for its writing and direction as they are set down in the program. The book is by Laurence Stallings and Owen Davis, the music by Arthur Schwartz, the book directed by Edward Clark Lilley, the settings by Lee Simonson, the dances by Florence Rogge, the costumes by Irene Sharaff, the lyrics by Albert Stillman, the musical supervision by Don Voorhees, the production staged by Leon Leonidoff. A lot of cooks. Now what of the broth? Visually at least no more beautiful spectacle has ever been given in the Center Theatre, or indeed in New York. The costumes are a delight, the scenery brings back Colonial Williamsburg in all its beauty and dignity. Williamsburg, recreated architecturally as it has been by Mr. Rockefeller, is here placed also upon the stage of Mr. Rockefeller's theatre, and to Miss Sharaff for her costuming and to Mr. Simonson for his scenery Mr. Rockefeller must be grateful. Their part has been done supremely well.

The music of Arthur Schwartz is melodious and atmospheric. "Virginia," "Send One Angel Down," "My Bridal Gown," "It Is Our Duty to the King," "Goodbye, Jonah,' and "I'll Be Sitting in the Lap o' de Lord" will all be sung and whistled and played throughout the country. In addition the dancing is skilful, the girls lovely, and the acting, where acting is permitted, all that is possible. Of the principals Anne Booth discloses a sweet though rather small voice which is used charmingly in the more intimate numbers, and Lansing Hatfield in his one song a voice which should have been heard oftener. Ronald Graham, who takes what might be called the masculine lead, is less effective vocally, and evidently as yet knows little of acting. Gene Lockhart makes the part of the leader of the troupe of London players as amusing as his material permits, and Nigel Bruce as the Governor and Dennis Hoey as the General and Bertha Belmore as an aging actress do what they can to help along the book. The Negroes, especially the inimitable Buck and Bubbles, and Avis Andrews are also excellent. Of the dancers Patricia Bowman gives one of the most exquisite performances, both in dancing and pantomime, that the New York stage has seen in recent years. Nothing lovelier has been seen here since the days of Anna Pavlowa. And then there is a fair, with a fire-eater, and a juggler, and a delightful punch and judy show. In short, nothing that money can buy has been stinted in the production. If there only hadn't been a book!

The book concerns a letter which was given to the actors by English sympathizers with the colonists. This letter was supposed to be delivered to General George Washington, but whether it ever was, or if it was, why it was, remains a secret known only to Mr. Stallings and Mr. Davis. The humor too was apparently furnished by these two gentlemen, and this also remains their secret. It wasn't discovered by the audience. A note in the program asserts that "the incidents in the play are fictitious." They are more than fictitious, they are almost non-existent. So let us forget the book, and remember the production, for this at least is memorable. "Virginia" is after all a spectacle. As a spectacle it must stand and fall, and it will probably stand until the cooling-plant gets busy next June, and perhaps far beyond that. The great mass of visitors to New York will love "Virginia," and the fact that it is only a Radio City "presentation" raised to the heights won't lessen their love. There is in it, moreover, neither vulgarity nor innuendo. It can be enjoyed by all ages and all races. It charms the eye and soothes the ear. It is a mighty good show. And after all mighty good shows aren't so common these days. Most Broadway shows are written for limited audiences. This is both their strength and their weakness. But "Virginia" is written, if it can be said to have been written, for the great public that love the more spectacular type of movie. To them it will appeal strongly. (At the Center Theatre.)

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Communications

WITH A PACK ON YOUR BACK

Kieta, T. N. Guinea.

TO the Editor: I have just given myself the pleasure of perusing again your excellent periodical, THE COMMONWEAL; a February issue of the current year.

Naturally the article by John Green entitled "With Pack on Your Back" would interest one in my position as bishop of this primitive field of the Solomons, the old German part now in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. Here European and American priests, gentlemen of culture, are doing today exactly what Jogues and Brebeuf and other great lovers of Christ and souls did long ago in our own dear land. Last year I mentioned one such, a beautiful soul whose life is depicted in our book, "Blazing the Trail." How many mountains he crossed, how many rivers he waded to reach "the most savage creatures, some who practise cannibalism, sleeping at night as best he could wondering if they would attack and in the morning Holy Mass before amazed savages." Mr. Francis Parkman would not understand the motive of present-day apostles because it is the same one that drove on brave Brebeuf and his companions. Only last week an American priest came to me who had just reached new territory; no white man had ever been to these people. Reporting he said, "I fear that I was not very welcome—will I repeat—it may be dangerous?" "You must repeat, Father." "Okay, Bishop, any news from the States—by this time the baseball season is on—I wonder if the million-dollar Red Sox will come through—they were an awful flop last year."

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Savages are simple people, faith is a gift from God and it cannot be given by unaided human activity, and going to these poor savages is sometimes far more consoling to the priest than, with Mass-kit in the rear of a Buick, to hop out one hour from a city to the sneering hostility of modern ignorance. Not that it should not be done. If I were home I would try to do it, but it would be more difficult than it is to go to the despised savages who often give evidence that they love me.

MOST REV. THOMAS J. WADE, S.M.

SPAIN

Fort Ann, N. Y.

TO the Editor: Vocal wars are going on throughout the world concerning the physical combat and material destruction taking tragic toll in historical and Catholic Spain.

There are many minds but only two sides in the Civil War now in its second year. One, called the Loyalists, are similar to the Tories in our Revolution inasmuch as they refused to support the cause of liberty, and freedom of speech and belief, thus hindering the amelioration of the needs of the people and the country; but dissimilar since among the Loyalists of Spain are some of the country's poor and illiterate. On the other side are the intelligent people of Spain, comprising also the poor but instructed, those desirous of advancing the good of the community, reliant upon the sincerity, goodness and wisdom of the God-fearing Franco, and aware that real and continued happiness of mind and heart can come only through the practise of religion.

If the Rebels, in a way unlike the deceitful Loyalists', are securing outside help, we must also realize that we in our revolution had more foreign support than the average American realizes; in truth we doubtless would have lost without it, particularly that obtained from France.

That the educated and intelligent Spaniards, both clergy and laity, capable of determining right from wrong, should have combined in support of Franco, proves conclusively that the cause of the General, left in as difficult a situation as was Washington, is the best for the country and its people.

The slaughter of an untold number of priests and religious and destruction of churches and all religious objects proves this to be truly a religious war, with the courageous Nationalists, called "Rebels," fighting for their religion against the nefarious Communists, called "Loyalists." It seems therefore that the newspapers, not only in this country, have yet to fulfil their "duty" in portraying the truth of the tragic war and the condition of the people under both "governments," thus giving the readers a chance, as is right, of really knowing both sides, and acting upon what they read. Their inefficiency or intentional bias may in the end react on the newspapers in a way not of their desire or to their advantage. Let the Catholic press carry on its fight against one-sided newspapers and periodicals to further, as is the duty and task of Catholics, a knowledge of the truth.

ARTHUR FRANCIS MCGOVERN.

Books

Necessary Crusade

Shadow on the Land: Syphilis, by Thomas Parran, M. D., Surgeon General U. S. Public Health Service. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

THE DISEASE which, directly or indirectly, shortens the lives of more people in this country than any other is syphilis. Besides causing death it produces multiform symptoms of disease and suffering. One in ten in this country is a sufferer from it. Until very recently syphilis was supposed by most people to be invariably connected with immorality, though as a matter of fact more than half the cases under treatment are innocent in origin. Eradication of the affection would be the greatest triumph of public health that we could have. The Scandinavian countries with statistics of the occurrence of syphilis as serious as our own took up a few years ago the problem of the elimination of this scourge and succeeded in their efforts to such an extent that there is now no doubt that the disease can be abolished.

During the Great War the coordination of military authorities and the technical skill of the medical department kept the American Expeditionary Force freer from this affection than any army has been in the course of history. This is a demonstration of what can be accomplished by a definite crusade against the disease. All that is needed is education and proper regulation and in the course of a comparatively few years the disease will have practically disappeared. Surgeon General Parran of the United States Public Health Service has outlined in this book the method by which this great blessing for humanity in our country can be secured. His experience makes his opinion on this subject well worthy of acceptance.

JAMES J. WALSH.

Ages of Faith

Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, by Henri Pirenne. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.00.

THE OPINIONS of the learned and diligent Professor Pirenne are compressed in this short history into an extremely persuasive and logical construction. In general, he is a leader of the historians who consider capitalism almost as a personal trade of individuals in any period, and a system whose origin must in any case be pushed very deep indeed into the Middle Ages. He is also a great expert on the rise of cities, tracing them also in a convincing way to bourgeois commerce. Doing this, he focuses upon long distance commerce and separates that sphere of activity with unusual sharpness from local trade and industry. It is a very interesting book and can be read with the confidence that one is reading the work of a scholar. The good and authoritative writing, however, is undoubtedly often a statement of an argument even where it appears to be simply the exposition of evident fact.

PHILIP BURNHAM.

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Stairway to Peace

The Winding Road Unfolds, by T. S. Hope. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

SIMPLICITY of thought, so expressed in words, is to my mind the strongest selling point for any opus an author may put into type. The terrific indictment of war, "The Winding Road Unfolds," the result of a diary kept by a young Scot, T. S. Hope, for a period of six months during the World War, embraces what this writer would term the essence of simplicity. The strength of the entire story lies in its simplicity derived from this sixteen-year-old boy's diary written on whatever scraps of paper were available and at times most convenient to the writer.

With no thought at the time that his random notes would ever reach book form, Mr. Hope achieved something which is entirely without literary pretensions and which touches on adventure, patriotic fever, disillusion, terror, coupled with squalor, filth, wounds and death in a manner that is not only gripping but which will be of vital interest to every soldier who saw service in France when the World War was at its peak.

His description of the panic stricken horses, the remnants of a field artillery unit struck by a high explosive shell, is one of the most vivid stories of the war the writer has ever read. Laymen who lack the experience of the veteran of the A.E.F. should read this book; perhaps then and only then would he realize why men who have seen war want no more of it. Mr. Hope's book is just another step in the stairway leading to universal peace.

WILLIAM P. AINSWORTH.

Soviet Tabloid

One Life, One Kopeck, by Walter Duranty. New York: Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

THERE is no denying that Mr. Duranty loses no time in getting to work. On the first page of his novel his hero, Ivan Petrovich, snuggles down against the warm sleek side of a sow; on the second page his mother murders his father with an axe; on the third page he has a childish love affair with Nina, the daughter of the noble by whom he is employed; on the fourth page he goes to St. Petersburg to look after his young master at school; the fifth and sixth pages tell how he goes to a brothel and gets into a brawl with the police, and by the seventh page he is on his way to Siberia.

In Siberia he reads Karl Marx and becomes a Communist. Then he kills the prison commandant for making improper advances and manages to make good his escape. Back in Russia again, he hides in the most effectual way by taking another peasant's place in the army and goes through the war. Later under another name he works as a Communist agitator in a munitions factory, and upon the outbreak of the Revolution is sent to encourage the soldiers to desert, his last phase being that of an officer fighting against the Whites.

Yet the book is hardly a novel at all. Were it not for the amorous episodes we should have to describe it as a kind of tabloid history of the early stages of the Revolu-

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See other educational messages beginning on page 111.

tion. But the love affairs are plentiful, even if they are too sordid and cold-blooded to excite more than a mild interest. Further to give the semblance of a plot Ivan meets again a girl named Hilda whom he had known in Siberia (with whom of course he has a love affair) and even the dear little Nina of his childhood days—in this case really falling in love. Nina rescues him from a group of Whites who had detected him as a Bolshevist spy, and in return he tries to rescue her from the White headquarters he has come to blow up. While he is trying to argue her into running off with him before it is too late the headquarters are blown sky-high and the book comes to an end.

This is a beautiful example of a manufactured novel. At one moment it reminds the reader of Gorki; at the next of the realist school of Irish novelists; but the great scenes seem to have come straight out of "The Scarlet Pimpernel." It is done with a certain amount of skill, for Walter Duranty is after all an expert newspaper man. But the concoction is completely devoid of beauty or tenderness or conviction. One ought to feel that Ivan is uplifted by his enthusiasm for the communist cause, but one thinks of him as being merely a sadistic and lustful cad. Except for the artificially contrived Nina episodes he has never ceased to snuggle beside the fat sow. The title, one gathers, means "Life's Not Worth a Damn." The same valuation might be put upon the book.

JOHN KENNETH MERTON.

The Eternal City

Rome, by H. Chéramy. Les Beaux Pays Collection. Grenoble: Arthaud.

OPENING more widely than heretofore the camera of his eye, Father Chéramy, archeologist of the Roman Catacombs, particularly of San Sebastiano on the Appian Way, and informed writer on St. Peter's in Rome, now with profusion of photographs flashes all but a *film-parlant* on the screen before us. The written text stands vibrant, picturesque but quite spare. M. Chéramy sets down essentials; but they are essentials like gems set in the gold of his penetrating experience. "Queen of the Centuries," he calls Rome in an introductory chapter. Then the first masters of the city rise like the coming of dawn, through the conflict between plebeians and patricians, to the artistic glories of Hellenistic Rome under the Caesars, and to a sad evensong in a Barbarian twilight. This is his first division.

With the same wide sweep his eye ranges over Rome under the Popes as temporal rulers. The Cross, hidden at first, triumphant under Constantine, eventually carries another heavy burden: temporal sovereignty. So the story of Christian Rome with learning and imagination, sometimes even with rare Gallic wit, like a brisk wind unfurling a colorful tapestry, holds the reader enthralled. The Great Weaver of all history seems to have begun a new tapestried banner in Vatican City and in new Rome, a double banner indeed. Names, political power, facial changes do but leave us a Rome Eternal.

J. L. BAZINET.

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Briefer Mention

Northwest Passage, by Kenneth Roberts. New York: Doubleday Doran. $2.75. The meteoric career of swashbuckling Major Rogers provides a stirring account of a vengeful foray against the Indians and an uncompleted search for the Northwest Passage to the Orient, both against insuperable odds. This popular and adventurous tale is securely based on our later colonial history and is unfolded with appropriate New England restraint.

The Seventeen Million, by Ogden L. Mills. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.75. The former Secretary of the Treasury fears that the menace of collectivism is casting an ever-lengthening shadow over American life. As one of the seventeen million voters who opposed the New Deal in 1936, he calls for a revival of faith in our institutions. Government should be looked upon as a servant, not a master.

The First Five Centuries, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.50. The first of a series of six volumes, inaugurating an ambitious attempt to cover the entire sweep of the geographic spread of Christianity. The author has been trained in the school of modern history which looks askance at the supernatural and sees in the flow of events simply mechanical and human factors.

The New Roman Missal, by Reverend F. X. Lasance. New York: Benziger Brothers. Bindings $3.25-$10.00. The two-fold purpose of this 1,852-page work in Latin and English has been to provide a Missal so arranged that it would be easy to use, and to impart information to enable the reader to understand and appreciate the sublimity of the Mass. Both purposes have been excellently achieved.

Christian Wheat and Marxian Cockle, by Right Reverend Monsignor George Barry O'Toole. Pittsburgh: The Catholic Radical Alliance. $.10. A detailed and well-documented comparison on a philosophical plane of Marxian and Christian social principles, based on a thorough study of Karl Marx. Greater concern for the views of present-day Marxists—Stalinists and Trotskyites—would add considerably to the usefulness of this study.

CONTRIBUTORS

William P. Ainsworth is a former newspaper man, now associated with World Peaceways.

Rev. John L. Bazinet is a member of the faculty of St. Charles Seminary, Catonsville, Maryland.

Marie Shields Halvey is a Philadephia writer and critic.

K. E. Job, M.A., L. T., lives in Changanacherry, Travancore, India, and contributes articles to American Catholic periodicals.

Oliver McKee, Jr. is Washington correspondent of the Boston *Evening Transcript.*

John K. Merton is a critic and contributor to current periodicals.

James J. Walsh, M.D., writer and lecturer, is the author of many books, of which the latest are "American Jesuits" and "Education of the Founding Fathers."

Philip Burnham is a member of The Commonweal staff.

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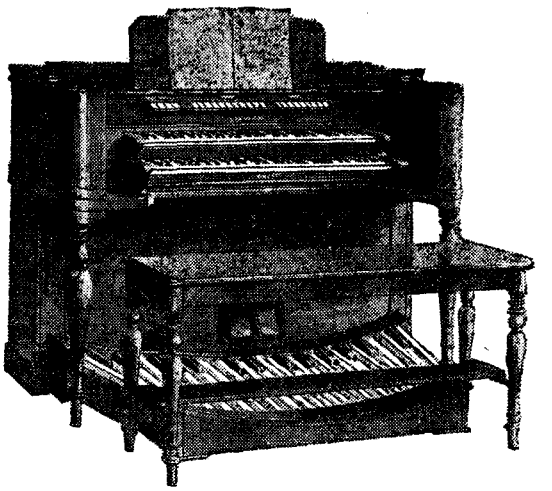

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